the WOMAN VOTER

THE DISCOVERY OF WOMEN

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

JUNE, 1916

Published By the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

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THE WOMAN VOTER

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The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

The Woman Voter is entering a campaign to double its circulation. A special offer will be made to all persons subscribing during June. Send fifty cents to-day to Circulation Department, 48 East 34th St., New York. Do not miss the opportunity. You need the magazine and the magazine needs you.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

JUNE, 1916

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

Iowa Next

THERE is every indication of victory for woman suffrage in Iowa on June 5th, the day of the special referendum. Estimates of the pro-suffrage majority vary from 10,000 to 50,000. Iowa is a rural state and this is a great factor in the probable outcome. There are no great cities with graft-ridden politicians and saloon interests to work aggressively for the defeat of suffrage. Farmers make up the bulk of the population and the farmers, as proved by the support of the State Grange and other farmer's associations, are with the suffragists. Such important farm publications as *The Iowa Farmer, The Homstead, Wallace's Farmer and Successful Farming* are giving their staunch support to the referendum. In fact, the press of the entire state has been favorable to the amendment, since the beginning of the campaign.

Not long ago the *Des Moines Capital* conducted a poll of Iowa's newspapers. Editors were not asked to express their personal views on suffrage but to state whether or not they believed their communities were in favor of or opposed to suffrage. The result showed that the communities represented were 2 to 1 for woman suffrage.

THE interests which usually work for the defeat of woman suffrage have less of a grip on politics in Iowa than in the Eastern states. Two of the leading Democratic candidates for state offices, the candidate for Governor and the candidate for Attorney General refused to run unless a suffrage plank would prove acceptable to the Party and they were drafted for the race with this understanding. Three out of four of the Republican candidates for the same offices are avowed supporters of equal suffrage. The Governor, George W. Clarke and both Senators, Cummins and Kenyon are strong supporters of the suffrage movement in Iowa as well as twelve of the thirteen Congressmen of the Iowa delegation.

Iowa suffragists, organized by county units have conducted a splendid, constructive campaign. There are at least 1200 women leading local organizations throughout the state. The remarkable cooperation of the men of Iowa is in itself an indication of the sentiment of the voters. A State Men's League for Woman Suffrage includes more than 500 active branches in different communities. Men speakers and organizers, volunteers from the Eastern states and a delegation of well known suffrage leaders who went to Iowa from the Mississippi Valley Conference have made the last weeks of the campaign memorable in the annals of suffrage work.

THE opposition to woman suffrage has been conducted chiefly by "high priced male professionals" who have been sent into the State from other parts of the country. Their lurid pictures of conditions in the suffrage states must have made pleasant reading for the citizens of the West. One of the most conspicuous of the walking delegates of the Antis is John B. Maling of Denver. Concerning his methods and their effect on the citizens of Iowa, the *Des Moines Register* says editorially, under the caption, "Iowa's Mysterious Stranger."

"Mr. Maling, has come to Iowa to camp while the campaign for woman suffrage is on, he is paid to remain in Iowa, not by Colorado friends who are disgusted with suffrage, but by eastern financial supporters whose names are not disclosed, and he will in the course of the coming four weeks see personally if time permits every large employer of labor, every man whose word might influence a considerable vote. . .

The burden of Mr. Maling's privately confided information is that woman suffrage has ruined Colorado commercially and financially. Denver has been complaining of the high cost of city management under the Des Moines plan. Although there is no woman on the Denver city council Mr. Maling charges this to woman suffrage. Colorado has recently gone dry and there is some bootlegging in Denver. This also is because of woman suffrage. Everything that has gone wrong in Colorado has

A May-Day Fairy Tale

Greensburg, (Pa.) Record.

gone wrong because women vote. And this burden is discharged upon the unsuspecting auditor in so friendly a fashion, and so confidentially, that it is hard to take it as other than an inside tip from one who knows.

Of course if all these things are so, it ought to suggest itself to Mr. Maling that it is not necessary to go about in a house to house campaign, tipping them off in a confidential sort of way. . .

Why then all this mystery? Why this campaign of whispered discredit on the good old state of Colorado? Why this showing of financial disaster to Colorado and to the city of Denver so assuringly delivered to men of financial importance here in Iowa, who most of all ought not to be prejudiced against our western neighbor for any cause that will not court the publicity of open proof?

As a long time believer in publicity and the champion of an open forum, The Register cannot but suspect any man who chooses to peddle information secretly. . .

If there is anything wrong with Colorado, it is not enough to whisper it to the financial managers of Iowa, it must be known to every voter, for every voter's voice is just as potent and ought to be just as potent as the men Mr. Maling goes to.

The Register cannot consent that Iowa shall any longer harbor a mysterious stranger. Let Mr. Maling come out into the open and say what he has to say so all can hear. The columns of The Register are open to him. If suffrage has ruined Colorado, let the facts be published. There is yet time to hear from Colorado in rebuttal and then Iowa can render an intelligent verdict.

AS yet Mr. Maling has not accepted the the challenge to conduct his lobby in the open. The *Des Moines Register* reflects the attitude of the citizens of Iowa. Unless anti-suffragists can offer more convincing arguments and send more impressive representatives to the front, there is no doubt that the prophecy of *The Woman's Protest* will come true and the women of Iowa be "forced into the maelstrom of politics" by the overwhelming desire of the men of the state to confer citizenship upon them.

IN the meantime, the Independent Voters' League of Denver has adopted resolutions repudiating Mr. Maling's statements with regard to the State of Colorado. The statement is, in part:

Whereas, This Maling is engaged in circulating the most defamatory statements regarding both the financial interests of the State, and the womanhood of Colorado saying that, "Two governments have broken down under the stress of woman suffrage, the legislative hopper has become loaded down with reform platforms, the government has lost its hold, the State cannot sell its own bonds, gambling and vice flourish openly and business has been killed," and

Whereas, Each and every one of these statements is false and misleading, and calculated to do irremediable damage to the good name of the State; and

Whereas, It is well known in Denver that Maling is a mere carpet-bagger, whose career is at least questionable, and whose business associations have been limited to promoting various interests of some of the less scrupulous of our large corporations, when he has not been traveling the country defaming the State that has restored his family to health; and

Whereas, It is also known that he represents the Anti-Suffrage Association, and has promised large pay to various Colorado women if they would turn Judases to their sex and their State, now therefore be it

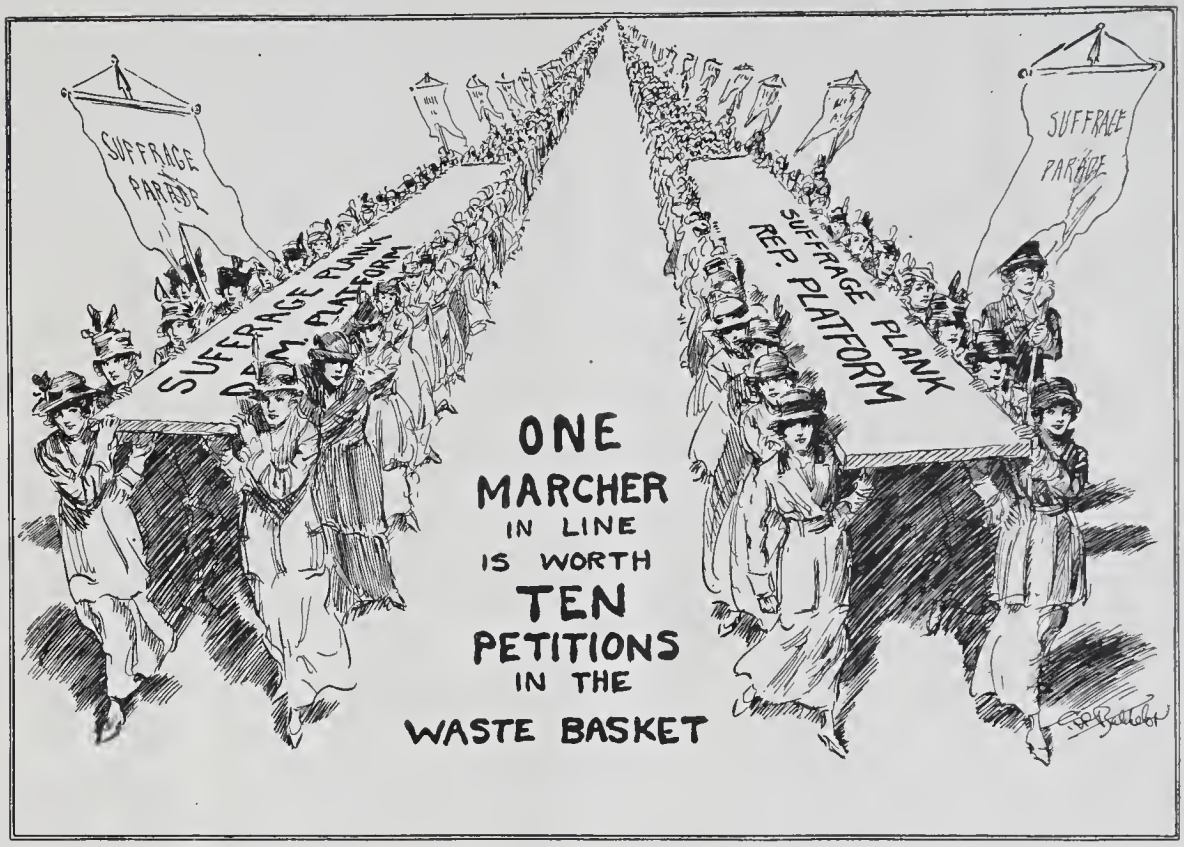
Resolved, That the Independent Voters' League of Denver denies each and every statement of the said Maling, and repudiates him as no true representative of Colorado manhood.

(Signed) D. C. BURNS, President.

VICTORY on June 5th in Iowa will greatly strengthen the National Woman Suffrage Association in its work for the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The population of the State is 2,224,771 and it has 11 votes in the electoral college.

Iowa women have had splendid preparation for citizenship in their long struggle for enfranchisement. For fifty years suffragists have been gaining that political knowledge and experience which accompanies suffrage work. Moreover the women of the State understand organization and co-operative effort. Of the 16,000 Iowa women who own or manage farms the great majority are active in the State Grange. Iowa has also a State Federation of Women's Clubs with a membership of 17,000; a State Teacher's Association which includes most of the 25,000 teachers of the State; a State Registered Nurse's Association and an active Women's Christian Temperance Union.

The right of women to serve as county recorder was granted in 1880 and 27 women are now serving in that capacity. There are 288



Will you do your share at Chicago or St. Louis?

women principals of high schools, 61 county superintendents of schools and 43 women deputies. It would be difficult to find a more intelligent, public spirited body of American women than those who are asking the State of Iowa to confer citizenship upon them at this special referendum on woman suffrage.

The Federal Amendment

THE history of state campaigns indicates that success with state legislatures follows more easily when the political parties carry planks of endorsement. In the elections of 1912, every political party in the state of New York carried a plank for submission of the suffrage question in 1915. As a result, the suffrage bill passed both houses of the Legislature of 1913 with a large majority by the 27th of January. This year, with no supporting planks, the measure was kept from final passage until the 10th of April.

The case of the Federal amendment is similar. The Susan B. Anthony amendment without endorsements from the dominant national parties, has won but scant consideration from the 64th Congress. Although it was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee on the 8th of January it is still on the Senate Calendar awaiting action. The Judiciary Committee of the House has not only played unfairly with the suffragists but by the action of March 28th for indefinite postponement of all constitutional amendments has virtually blocked the bill for the time being.

If each of the parties had a suffrage plank in the national platform, the history of the Federal amendment would be different. This is why the great demonstrations in Chicago and St. Louis during the Republican and Democratic Conventions are so important. With thousands of women voters who are actually members of the great parties urging the planks and thousands of women who are potential members of the parties showing the demand over the entire country, there is little likelihood that the Republican and Democratic Parties will fail to include in the national platforms of 1916 equal suffrage planks for the women of the United States.

The Appeal to the Parties

MRS. Carrie C. Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has issued to every delegate elected to the national conventions of the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties a strong appeal for a woman suffrage plank in the respective platforms.

To the Democratic delegates, Mrs. Catt calls attention to the fact that President Wilson, William J. Bryan, Speaker Clark, Secretary of War

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, Secretary of Commerce William C. Redfield, and Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, have all announced their advocacy of the enfranchisement of women.

"The Democratic party holds as one of its principles that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,'" continues Mrs. Catt to the Democratic delegates. "In order that this theory may become a fact the suffragists will ask the Democratic party for a plank endorsing woman suffrage."

Mrs. Catt calls to the attention of the Republican delegates the fact that a minority of the Resolutions Committee of the 1912 Convention presented a report endorsing woman suffrage. "All history proves that the minorities of today are the majorities of tomorrow," she continues. Referring also to the statement of "the greatest of all Republicans, Abraham Lincoln," that "this country cannot endure half slave and half free," Mrs. Catt suggests that "no Republic can endure half governed by half the people and the other half governed by all the people."

Progressive delegates are urged to reaffirm their declaration of 1912 favoring woman suffrage. Mrs. Catt further emphasizes her nonpartisan appeal by sending to delegates of all parties the following historical facts relating to equal suffrage:

"Since 1912 Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, have become full suffrage States and Illinois has granted to women municipal suffrage and the right to vote for President.

"Last November four Eastern States—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, voted on woman suffrage. While the amendments were lost the "yes" vote in these States was over one million. The exact total "yes" vote was 1,234,470.

"Women now help to determine 91 electoral votes; 22 United States Senators and 67 Representatives. The suffrage States cover nearly half our territory."

King of the May

News Note:—Suffragists of Pennsylvania will revive the old English May-Day custom of giving neighbors and others flowers. Many of the tokens will be distributed to the children of towns and cities.

Gaynesboro, (Pa.) Record.

For National Endorsement

Representative John M. Nelson, who led the fight for a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, in the Judiciary Committee, made the following comment upon the nationwide campaign of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for equal suffrage planks in the Republican and Democratic parties:

"The endorsement of equal suffrage by either of the two great political parties would do more at this time to simplify the woman suffrage question than any other one thing. It seems to me that in directing their efforts toward securing the endorsement of equal suffrage by delegates to the national conventions, woman suffrage advocates have exhibited sound practical judgment and admirable political acumen."

"I am in favor of an endorsement in the Republican platform of the principle of equal suffrage," says Senator Borah of Idaho, who is a delegate to the Republican convention, "and speaking for myself am willing to see the party pledged to the principle. I have no doubt that there will be a plank offered to that effect, and it will receive my active support, so far as I can give it."

Senator Thompson of Kansas, delegate to the Democratic convention, says:

"The resolutions recently adopted by the Kansas Democrats in their State convention fairly define my position. In Kansas the Democrats frankly acknowledge that 'woman suffrage accords with the principles of Democracy,' and that 'a voice in the conduct of public affairs is a right of women in the same sense and to the same extent as of men.'"

"Woman suffrage is a final culmination of the triumph of the people in self-government, and for this reason I take a deep interest in it," declared United States Senator Owen on the floor of the Senate. "This demand on the part of women ought to be made by men as well as by thinking, progressive women; as it

will promote human liberty and human happiness. I sympathize with it, and I hope that all parties will in the national convention give their approval to this larger measure of liberty to the better half of the human race."

"In my judgment, the experience of twenty-three years of equal suffrage in the State of Colorado has conclusively demonstrated its righteousness, its expediency and its practicability from every point of view," said Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado in a recent interview.

"The fact that no member of the General Assembly of Colorado has ever even introduced in that body a bill to re-submit the question to the people shows that there is no demand for any change in the elective franchise of that State.

"Furthermore, I believe in amending the Federal Constitution so as to provide equal suffrage. To us of Colorado who believe that influence in government has always been and is sure to continue to be for the advancement of all good and moral legislation, it is inconceivable that woman's right to vote could do any harm or wrong to any State."

When the United Republicans of California were making their campaign for the election of delegates to the Republican Convention, they issued the following statement:

"Looking with unqualified approval upon the social and political benefit of equal suffrage in California, we, the United Republican candidates for delegates to the Republican National Convention, pledge ourselves, if we are elected, to support and exert ourselves in behalf of the principle of national woman suffrage at the Chicago national convention."

According to the *Nashville Banner,* the most interesting feature of the Tennessee Republican Convention was the adoption of a woman suffrage plank by a vote of 376 to 184, more than two to one. The fight for the suffrage plank was led by ex-Governor Hooper, the Republican choice for United States Senator next fall. The Republican nominee for Governor is also a strong supporter of the plank, which shows that woman suffrage is gaining rapidly in the South—once supposed to be anti-suffrage territory.

Theodore Roosevelt has endorsed the federal amendment for woman suffrage. "I believe," he said, "in the nationalization of the issues which affect not only men, but women also. The great problems of our country are national. In the matter of the railroads, for example, forty-six different sets of laws for their regulation merely check and handicap their development and management. A universal Federal law is essential for railroads. In the same way, the question of enfranchisement of women has become national and demands Federal action."

Her Spring Hat

Stroudsburg, (Pa.) Times.

From time to time the press of New York City is reminding the National Conventions that a new element has entered into this year's Presidential election. This fact "has begun to engage the serious attention of practical politicians, who as a class, always hesitate to make serious use of the imaginative faculty of their minds," says the *New York Sun* of Friday, May 12th. "It is hard for men of this type to realize the full significance of the fact that several million women in the so-called enfranchised States will vote for Presidential electors in November, complicated as this fact is by the avowed purpose of the women in these States to place their loyalty to suffrage above all personal party predilections. The enfranchised women of the country are divided among themselves upon such issues as preparedness, the tariff, Mexican intervention, the rights of neutrals, etc., but they are united in their belief that woman suffrage is at this moment the most important question before the nation, embracing and overshadowing all others, and that their highest duty as voters is to their sex rather than to any party or political platform. It is conceivable that in a close election the solidarity of the enfranchised women's vote might be the decisive factor."

What is Our Business?

"WE don't want any women interfering," said E. J. Wile, president of the Manufacturer's Association. "Nor any professors or uplifters. We want our own kind of business men who know our trade."

This remark typifies the attitude of the manufacturers involved in the strike of 60,000 garment workers of New York. The strike, which began with a lockout, is due to the refusal of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturer's Association to comply with the decisions of the Council of Conciliation appointed by Mayor Mitchel last July, following the abrogation by the employers of the protocol agreement with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

The manufacturers have refused the Mayor's direct request for arbitration; they have also refused to confer with various civic bodies and public spirited individuals. When the Women's City Club asked them to send a representative to give the employer's side of the controversy they indicated, with some scorn, that it was not women's business. Their naive assumption that women are not concerned with regard to an industry of which they are the sole consumers reveals an amazing ignorance of modern times. Evidently such organizations as the National Consumer's League and the Women's Trade Union League, with its many Union Label committees do not demonstrate to the manufacturers that women take their responsibility as consumers with great seriousness.

They are soon to discover that the women of New York are deeply interested in this strike. Already several great organizations have publicly taken sides with the strikers, and a number of well known women have announced that they will stand by the workers to the finish. Mr. Wile and his associates may not want women to interfere, but they are not likely to be deterred either by the manufacturers' lack of courtesy or judgment. Women regard it as part of their business to know under what conditions the clothes they wear are made. They want to know how the garment workers live, what they have to live on, how the shops are conducted and what rights as workers they have to form their unions and bargain collectively for better conditions.

Women are the only buyers of the garments made in the industry involved, they form part of the public which is always affected by an industrial dispute, and they are, as women, mindful of the welfare of the thousands of men and women workers now deprived of their means of livelihood.

Woman suffrage has been endorsed by Republicans in Arizona, Kansas, Maine and Virginia.

Women and Organization

The convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which opened in New York City on May 23rd, was a revelation to New York of the growing strength of the woman's club movement. At the first convention, twenty-six years ago, 97 clubs were represented by 61 delegates. This year, the Seventh Regiment Armory was hardly large enough to accommodate the 20,000 delegates, alternates and visitors who represented only a small fraction of the two and a half million members of the Federation.

As the program indicated, the interests of club women are many and varied. While there were sessions devoted to literature, music and art, the attention given to problems of education, legislation, child hygiene, civil service reform, industrial betterment and social progress indicates that the club women have evolved from the stage of culture and self-cultivation to that of community service and citizenship.

Women who deal with political and social reforms learn quickly the value of efficient weapons. Many of the club women are voters with the power of the ballot to carry out measures in which they are interested. That Western women are citizens and Eastern women still disfranchised makes a certain inequality of opportunity in the membership. Appreciation of this handicap is shown by the following woman suffrage resolution, passed by the convention in Chicago, in 1914:

Whereas, The question of political equality of men and women is today a vital problem under discussion throughout the civilized world

Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs give the cause of political equality for men and women its moral support by recording its earnest belief in the principle of political equality regardless of sex.

Women's Special Privileges

ON Sunday evening, May 8th, four disorderly houses in Poughkeepsie were raided by the police, 59 men being arrested and 10 women. The District Attorney of Poughkeepsie, who, by the way, is an anti-suffragist, ordered that the names of the ten women found in the raid be published, and those of the men be suppressed. Accordingly, next day, several city papers came out with an account of the raid in glaring headlines and in no small print gave the names of the women arrested. Not one name of the 59 "prominent Poughkeepsie gentlemen" was printed.

When asked by indignant women through the newspapers, why he had been so partial to the men, the attorney made the excuse that "the men had families who might feel badly to hear of their arrest."

Miss Stella Crossley of Poughkeepsie sends *The Woman Voter* the following comment:

"We fear the publication of the women's

names in this case was another of women's special privileges. The Anti-suffragists have been wont to conjure awful fears about the special privileges which women in New York State might lose if they were given the vote. Since prophecies that men might not lift their hats as formerly, give up seats in the street cars or pick up handkerchiefs as heretofore have not been fulfilled in the suffrage States, it is high time to look about for new fears.

"In the light of our honored Attorney's recent decision, we offer a new fear to our anti-friends. For should women win the vote in New York State the special privilege that women found in houses of shame have their names published while those of men be suppressed may be lost. Alas for the Age of Chivalry when women shall be treated like men."

A Long Way

THE Irish Rebellion with its sudden rise and fall had in it one significant sign of the times, for the new born Republic would have included women as citizens. This is said to be the first Irish revolutionary movement in which women have appeared in large numbers. The story of the Countess Markievitz, who led a division of volunteers, is one of the most thrilling of those few fateful days. Woman as a revolutionist is not new to history. In the French Revolution she played an important part. The difference however, is that the Irish revolutionists insisted on equal rights, not for "Irishmen" but for the "men and women of the Irish race."

The women of the French Revolution sacrificed themselves for the principles of democracy with no prospect of sharing in the new government. Olympia de Gouges who wrote in her declaration of the rights of women, "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold. She must have the similar right to mount the platform as an orator," was herself sent to the guillotine by Robespierre. Despite the efforts of Condorcet who believed that women should have equal civil rights, the Committee of Public Safety decided that women might not share in government.

From 1789 to 1916 is a long road and women have made one turn at least when they not only participate in the martyrdom of revolution but are included in its platform.

GOVERNOR Whitman vetoed the Argetsinger labor bill which despite its many "admirable qualities" would have broken down the labor laws of the State. The women of New York are grateful to the Governor for his action for the bill would have permitted women and minors to work eighty-four hours a week in the canneries during the rush season. It would have abolished the one day of rest in seven for employees of dairies, creameries and similar industries, it would have allowed the suspension of the fifty-four hour law whenever the machinery of a factory broke down, thus making the employees pay for delay caused by inefficient or careless management of industry.

In 1912 there were only six States in which women could vote for President. This year, 1916, there are twelve with a total of 91 electoral votes. Commenting on the proportion of electoral votes cast by woman suffrage States, the *New York Press* said on May 5th:

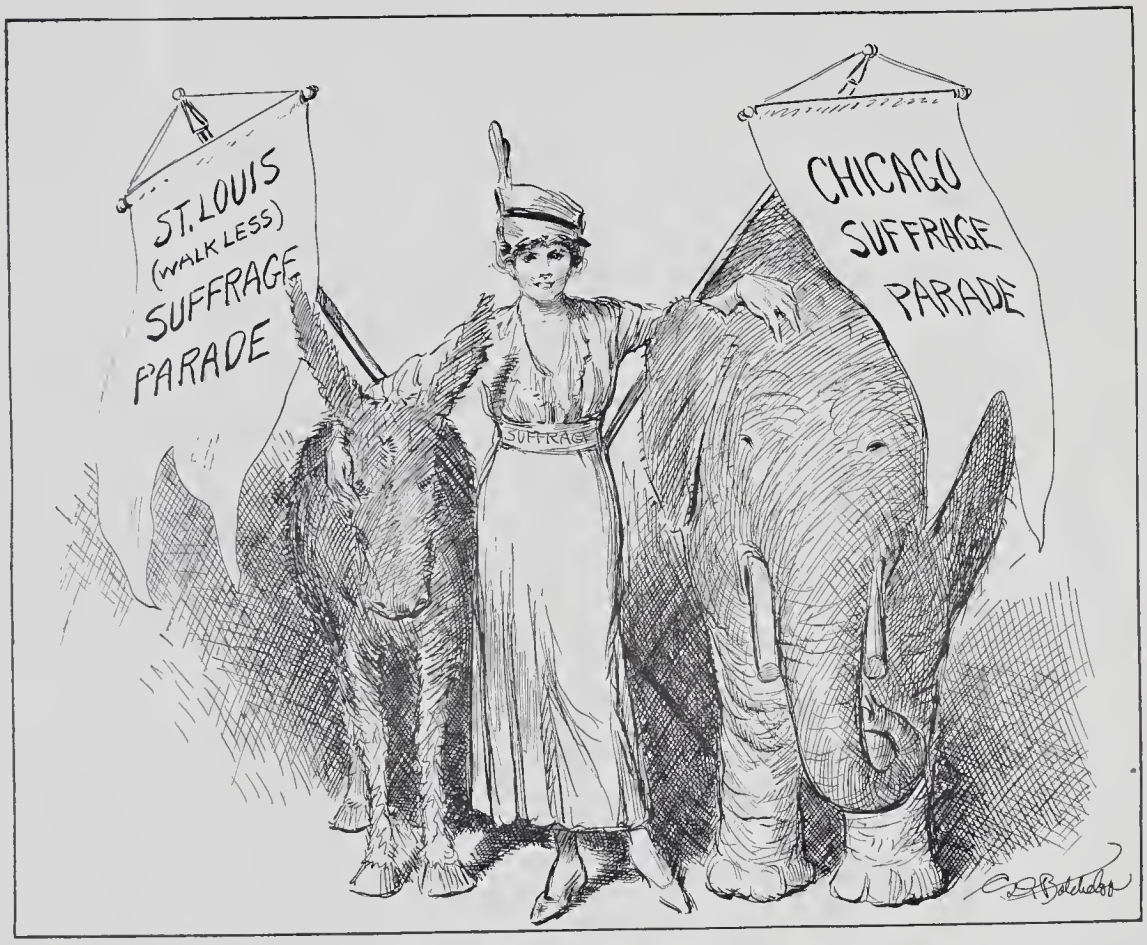
"The number of woman suffrage States not only is greater than it has been in any previous national election but it is more important than the electoral vote itself indicates, for they are in nearly every case doubtful States, all in the West, and none of them having the traditional allegiance to the political parties which is shown in Southern States toward the Democratic and in New England States and Pennsylvania toward the Republican party."

Kansas Democrats have unanimously elected Mrs. William E. Harris of Lawrence, wife of former United States Senator Harris, as one of the delegates at large to the St. Louis Convention.

Up Early!

Corry, (Pa.) Journal.

Planks and Platforms



If You Would Have a Friend—Be One !

TWO of the most picturesque suffrage demonstrations ever planned in this country will be staged at Chicago and St. Louis on June 7th and 14th during the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. The Chicago demonstration will be a parade, but it will differ from the former suffrage parades that have been held in this country because in addition to visualizing the nation-wide growth of the suffrage movement it will also visualize a nation-wide demand on the part of American women—the demand for an equal suffrage plank in the Republican National platform.

In St. Louis the suffrage demonstration will take the form of a "walkless parade," the first of its kind ever held in the country. From ten o'clock in the morning until noon on June 14th thousands of women representing every section of the United States will stand in silent lines between the Jefferson Hotel, which is to be the headquarters of the Democratic delegates, and the Coliseum where the Democratic Convention is to be held. The women will be dressed in white, and will stand as close together as the yellow parasols that they are to carry will permit. They will form a golden lane through which the delegates will pass on their way to the Coliseum, and by their presence will indicate to the delegates that the women of this country not only want the vote, but want the Democratic party to help them to get it by placing a suffrage plank in the Democratic National platform.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is standing sponsor for both the Chicago and the St. Louis parades, and through this strictly non-partisan program the leaders hope to convince the delegates to both the big political conventions that the women suffragists of the United States are entitled to the support of both the big political parties. That this non-partisan policy has the support of suffragists in all parts of the country is evidenced by the splendid response to the call for paraders from all corners of the United States. The 12 suffrage states will be well represented at both Chicago and St. Louis, as well as virtually all of the other states in which

the women have not yet secured the ballot. At the time these lines are being written it is impossible to forecast with any degree of accuracy just how many women will attend either of the two demonstrations. It is perfectly safe to assert, however, that the Chicago parade will be the biggest ever held in the Middle West, and that the "walkless parade" in St. Louis will be the most picturesque and representative women's demonstration ever staged in that section of the country.

A unique feature of the Chicago parade will be the mobilization of the thousands of women who are to take part in it along the Lake Shore in Grant Park. In no other cities have the paraders ever been able to take advantage of so vast an open space in which to mobilize. Usually the procedure has been for the various groups to form along the side streets leading to the main parading thoroughfare, and to fall in line from these street entrances. In Chicago, however, Grant Park affords acres of open space adjacent to Michigan Boulevard, and when the women assemble there on the afternoon of June 7th this acreage will be converted into a veritable suffrage garden, for the dull brown earth will be blotted out by the white gowns of thousands of women. These gowns, garnished with sashes of suffrage gold and set off at intervals by the gleaming banners of the paraders, promise to furnish one of the most wonderful and splendid suffrage pictures ever seen.

Then at four o'clock that afternoon with yellow banners flying and bands playing the women will advance across the viaduct leading to Michigan Boulevard and parade to the Coliseum, where the men who are to choose the Republican candidate for the National Presidency will be in session. In the white and gold lines that will sweep down Michigan Boulevard there will be working girls marching beside women who have been born to fortune; women who have toiled all their lives in sweatshop, mill and factory; and in this picture will be embodied the whole democracy of the suffrage movement. But whether working girl or society woman, each marcher in line will be keeping step to the beat of a single thought—that of impressing upon the masculine voters of this country the necessity of having the National Republican Convention insert an equal suffrage plank in its National party platform.

The women in line will not depend upon their presence alone to convey this thought to the Republican delegates. Marching in the ranks with them will be two "gentle hints," weighing a ton apiece and carrying a suffrage plank between them. The "gentle hints" in question will be perfectly good "G. O. P." elephants, and the plank which they are to carry will symbolize the suffrage plank which the National American Woman Suffrage Association wants incorporated in the Republican party's National platform.

In addition to this picturesque feature countless other real surprises are in store for the delegates and voters along the line of march. Just what these surprises are, Mrs. Harrison Munro Brown, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and Chairman of the Parade Committee, refuses to announce in advance. Sufficient to say that the plans now under way in her Chicago offices promise to culminate in the most picturesque suffrage parade that has ever been staged anywhere. Many thousands of women will be in line, the city delegations marching by wards and precincts, and the state delegations in brigades. More than two hundred and fifty groups of women will march under the Illinois State banner alone. Every suffrage state will have a delegation in line, and virtually all of the non-suffrage states will have some representation.

New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey will all send large delegations, especially the first three whose delegations will travel to Chicago in special Pullmans.

All members of the Executive Board of the National Amercian Woman Suffrage Association will be in line headed by their President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. There will be women carrying banners, who have marched in most of the great suffrage parades of this generation—in the New York parades, those at Washington, Chicago, London and in that of the Ohio campaign.

To accommodate this huge army of women is going to tax the resources of the Chicago suffragists to the limit, as a great deal of the hotel space was engaged in advance last year by representatives of the Republican party for the big army of delegates which it, too, will have on hand in Chicago on June 7th. Visiting suffragists need have no fear of not finding both a place to sleep and eat awaiting them, however, as Mrs. George Bass, Chairman of the Chicago Hospitality Committee, has been working for the past six weeks on that problem and is now able to announce that there will be room for every woman who comes to the city to parade.

More than mere accommodations will be provided for the out-of-town suffrage visitors. Preparations for their entertainment have been made as well. Mrs. Harold McCormick has

turned over her magnificent Lakeside estate to the cause for a huge suffrage ball on the night of June 6th. This ball, which will precede the parade on the 7th, will probably be one of the biggest society events of the season in Chicago, for in addition to the prominence of the hostess and the other Chicago women who will help her receive, practically every suffragist of social prominence in the country will attend.

IN the St. Louis "walkless parade" the women from states where men alone can vote will all wear the conventional suffrage yellow, but the women from the suffrage states will be dressed in red, white and blue costumes and will carry banners or pennants bearing the words "I am a Voter."

In order to keep unbroken the golden line of parasols which the women will carry, all banners, mottoes, etc., will be attached to runners and held in front of the women at a height waist-high. Although this picturesque pageant will last only until noon on the 14th, the breaking-up of the "walkless" ranks will not by any means mark the close of the suffrage demonstration. There is to be a night program as well. Suffrage speeches and band concerts will be the main features of this evening demonstration, of which Mrs. Leslie Thompson will be in charge. It has not been decided yet whether the speaking will take place from one large platform erected in the open space on 12th street, where the Municipal Christmas Tree stands at Christmas time, or from automobiles stationed in different parts of the city.

As it is the desire of the Demonstration Committee, of which Mrs. Morrison Fuller is chairman, to keep the simplicity of the line of the "walkless parade" unbroken by banners of different colors and different shapes, all the banners for the different states will be made in St. Louis. Consequently states which are going to be represented and which desire banners should place their orders through Mrs. Fuller as soon as possible. In general appearance the state banners will duplicate the congressional and ward banners of Missouri and St. Louis.

All suffrage delegates and visitors will be met at the Union Station by a committee of St. Louis women and taken to the various hotels in automobiles or streetcars. The Women's Council, an affiliation of St. Louis clubs, is going to help in entertaining the visitors.

The Hospitality Committee, of which Mrs. Charles Passmore, is chairman, has been at work for some time securing hotel accommodations for the army of visiting suffragists who are expected. Upon request this committee will furnish a list of hotels, together with the rates for those suffragists who wish to make direct application to the hotels for their rooms.

The Warwick Hotel will be the official headquarters of the suffragists in St. Louis during the Democratic Convention, and also the headquarters of the National officers.

Among the prominent St. Louis women who are arranging the details of the June 14th demonstration are Mrs. Morrison Fuller, Mrs. Frank Hays, Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Charles Passmore, Miss Charlotte Rumbold, Mrs. A. C. Goodwin, Mrs. John Livingston Lowes, Mrs. Fred Taussig, Miss Leone Robinson, Mrs. David O'Neil and Miss Caroline Blackman. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 1st Auditor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and until recently State President of the Missouri suffragists, and Mrs. Florence Updegraff are representing the National Suffrage Association in St. Louis now and assisting with the demonstration plans there.

The Discovery of Women

F. W. Pethick Lawrence

A Shop Operated Entirely by Women.

WAR is not the only drama which is being played out in Europe to-day. In every country internal changes are taking place which will profoundly affect the future of the world after the war.

We in England are going through the throes of a veritable industrial revolution. For a hundred years and more the factory system has been in process of formation. There have been detailed factory laws and elaborate Trade Union rules the main effect of which has been to erect rigid barriers in industry between skilled and unskilled, and between men and women. With the coming of the war almost all of these barriers have quite suddenly given way. The Factory Acts are no longer put in force, the Trade Union rules are being overborne, and the rising tide of women so long damned back is rushing into industry, obliterating the lines of demarcation between men's sphere and women's sphere and making hopeless havoc of the old distinction between skilled and unskilled labour.

In every large engineering shop from the Government arsenal at Woolwich to the vast private shops on the Clyde the women are numbered by their thousands; they are working the lathes, operating the drills and doing all manner of work hitherto classed as highly skilled. On the railways they are in the signal boxes, in the booking offices, they are examining the tickets and even acting as station porters. On the streets they are acting as conductors of the cars and omnibuses, and in some cities, notably in Glasgow, they are driving the electric street cars themselves.

The startling fact is how well they are doing all these things. Prior to the war it was tacitly assumed both by employers and workmen—outside the cotton trade—that for industrial purposes women were half way between men and children. Employers accordingly claimed the right to pay them wages on a much lower scale than they paid men, while workmen, regarding women as blacklegs, made it their business to exclude them from nearly all skilled work. The war has destroyed this illusion. The testimony of all concerned, from Mr. Lloyd George in his recently issued "Notes on the Employment of Women" down to the passengers in the Glasgow street cars, is to the effect that women have proved capable, even in highly skilled occupations, to turn out work at least as efficient, both as to quantity and as to quality, as that previously done by men.

The immediate effect of these changes, particularly of the successful employment of women, has been to falsify many of the predictions of the Economists with regard to the war. In spite of the withdrawal of some four million able bodied men for the army, in spite of the employment of a further three or four million workers upon munitions and other war work,

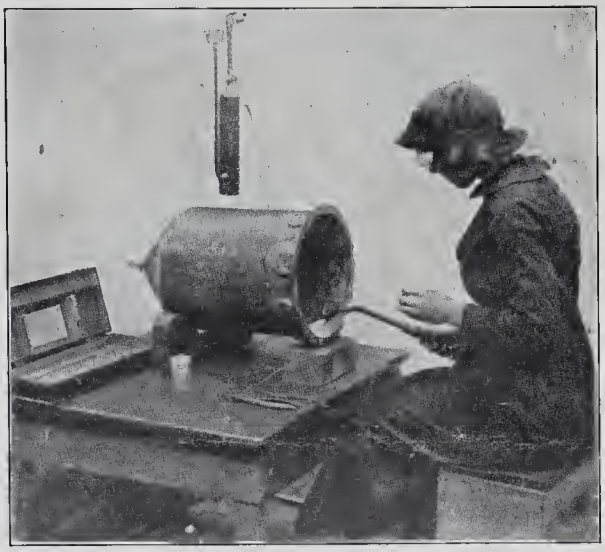
the normal life of the country has not been brought to a standstill. The actual productive output of the population within the country is probably at least as great as it was before the war, and the aggregate money income including that arising from munition work has been considerably increased.

THE question arises, however, as to what will happen after peace is declared. The Factory Acts are nominally only in abeyance during the continuance of the war; the Trade Unions have only consented to a *temporary* abrogation of their rules, the women have in many cases been taken on only to "fill men's places while they are away at the front." But every day that the war lasts the abnormal comes to be regarded more and more as the normal, and the prospect of reverting to the complete *status quo ante* becomes more unlikely. Thinking people are beginning to see that it will not be possible for the Trade Unions in the light of experience to reassert the whole of their regulations as to output, or for the women who have shown such remarkable aptitude in the engineering shops to be sent back to darn stockings in the home. The world of industry may not be the same as it is to-day but it will be essentially different from the world as it was before the war.

The most important difference may be expressed briefly as the "Discovery of Women." Hitherto women have been classed in industry with children; in future they will be reckoned as fully adult human beings and classed with men.

This new discovery has an essential bearing upon the all important question of distribution. In the first industrial revolution (when machinery came into use over a hundred years ago) there were two parties to claim a share in the productive output—the employers and the workmen. The struggle between them proved entirely unequal. The workmen unorganized, voteless, ignorant, were completely routed. Almost the whole of the new wealth found its way into the pockets of the employing class while the workmen were left with a bare subsistence wage. The Trade Unionism of the second half of the nineteenth century has been the story of the attempt of the working men after their enfranchisement to secure some part of the lost ground.

The second industrial revolution which is taking place to-day brings three parties into the field —the employers, the working men and the working women—and the interests of each of these will, after the peace, be distinct. The employers will be tempted to play off the women against the men by offering them wages which while far above anything they have previously received are still below the wages earned by men for the same work. The workmen will be tempted to deal with the problem of the women as they have done in the past, namely, by the demand for their exclusion from all the better paid occupations. The women will be tempted to undercut the men in order to secure employment. The economic struggle may be transferred to the political arena where the women unless they are by that time enfranchised are likely to come off badly.



Women Welding Acetylene

The success of this operation is largely dependent upon the the provision of face and head guards in order to minimize the onerous conditions of the work.

But there are indications that this triangular conflict may be averted. Many men are saying to-day that after the splendid service rendered by women to the country in its hour of need they cannot have long to wait to secure participation in the ballot. The longer-headed Trade Unionists are arranging to include men and women in their Unions on equal terms and to put forward claims for wages not on the grounds of sex but on the sole ground of ability. And many women are loyally determined, even at considerable personal sacrifice, not to undercut the men. How far these wiser and more friendly intentions will prevail when the economic stress arises at the close of the war it is not possible to foretell. All that is certain is that an entirely new departure has been taken which must fundamentally change the whole nature of industrial organization.

Sacrificed to Suffrage

An interpretation of the "middle of the road" policy, reprinted by courtesy of the New Republic.

VITAL issues are before the American people at the present moment: preparedness, peace, international relations, tariff, prohibition, Mexico; but none of them are under discussion by the suffragists. The women in the organized suffrage movement are as mute on current topics as if they lived on another planet or in another period. Their silence is sometimes attributed to indifference or to absorption in the winning of the franchise, but actually it is due to a policy by which suffragists must sacrifice to the suffrage movement the very thing for which they are fighting, the right of the individual to an expression of opinion. Strange as the situation may seem, suffragists know that the moment they voice individual political opinions or participate in radical social reforms their value as members of suffrage organizations ceases.

It does not make much difference whether a suffragist belongs to the National American Woman Suffrage Association or to the Congressional Union, for in either group her own political opinion must be held in abeyance. The National pledges itself to a strict non-partisanship, seeking support from all parties, giving friendship to none. Just now, for instance, it is working for a suffrage plank in the platform of all the national parties, but no one knows which party the majority of women prefer, or whether Wilson, Hughes, Roosevelt, Root, Bryan or Benson is the candidate most favored.

In the Congressional Union an even greater sacrifice of the individual is required, for this organization uses partisanship as its weapon but prescribes the kind of partisanship of its members. Women voters who join the Union pledge their support to woman suffrage irrespective of the interests of any national party. Next fall, members of the Union will work against and refuse to vote for the candidate of whichever party the organization is opposing, regardless of their own political convictions.

Suffragists have been asked to come out for national defense or against preparedness, but suffrage organizations have taken no official position and the majority of suffragists have expressed no opinion. A few well known women have identified themselves with pacifist or preparedness groups, but the rank and file of suffragists have remained loyal to the sphinx policy. They know that if they advocate peace, the voters who want war or militant preparedness will oppose the whole movement as made of mollycoddles; they know that if they advocate national defense, pacifists will withhold the vote because women would at once plunge the nation into war.

In this respect the anti-suffragists have an advantage. Since they are asking for nothing, they have nothing to lose. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has just officially endorsed national defense, but the fact that a group of ladies urge preparation for war from the sheltered precincts of home does not harm their cause. The principle of indirect influence is so nebulous that politicians and voters have nothing to fear.

With regard to prohibition the situation of the suffragist is even more complicated, since the wet and dry issue has become entangled with the suffrage question in some states. The fact that brewers and liquor dealers have aligned themselves as anti-suffragists has made it difficult for the suffragists to keep to a middle path which neither endorses prohibition nor misses the chance to show what the real opposition to woman suffrage is like. Moreover, it is difficult for those suffragists who desire prohibition with almost religious fervor to realize that the success of the whole movement depends upon avoiding alliance with other reforms.

A recent article in *The New Republic* points out that suffragists are losing the support of organized labor in some states because of the implication by liquor interests that woman suffrage means prohibition and prohibition means unemployment. Officially, the American Federation of Labor has endorsed suffrage, and there is usually a big labor vote for suffrage in the state referenda, but possibly the allegiance of labor is weakened by knowledge that if the Federation faced a crisis, suffragists would take no stand in its support. While some suffragists have participated in strikes of working women, the majority of suffragists are agreed that active participation in the labor movement should be deferred until women are enfranchised.

The Socialist party was one of the first to endorse woman suffrage and Socialists have always been friendly to the movement, yet women are a hindrance rather than a help to the suffrage cause if they disclose a tendency to socialism. A few years ago, when the Progressive party had a suffrage plank in its platform, an officer of the National Woman Suffrage Association was severely censured by her associates for taking part in the Progressive campaign. Democrats, Republicans, Prohibitionists, Socialists or Progressives, women are lost to the political parties until the vote is won.

THE most paradoxical situation in the suffrage movement, however, is the taboo on feminism. In Europe the whole woman movement centers on social problems as they affect women: marriage, divorce, economic independence, the rights of women with regard to children—legitimate and illegitimate. All the subjects which American suffragists do not discuss constitute the major part of the European movement, with suffrage as a minor issue. Here, the political aspect of the movement is the only one which has an appeal sufficiently extensive to merit organization. American women classify themselves as suffragists and feminists, and, curiously enough, the feminist is regarded as a liability to the suffrage movement.

This separation of suffragism and feminism is due partly to the desire of suffragists to avoid alliance with other reforms, but chiefly to the type of campaign waged by the organized anti-suffragists since the beginning of the struggle. The great aim of the academic antis —to distinguish them from the brewers, bosses and vested interests—is to prove that suffragists are not suffragists at all. Their contention is that suffragists are feminists who wish the vote in order to effect a complete upheaval of society. The majority of antis do not discuss problems of franchise, democracy versus aristocracy, and other political topics involved in the issue; most of them devote their energy to circulating the views of suffragists on everything except suffrage.

In justice to the anti-suffragists it should be understood that most of them believe absolutely that everything that is, is right, and that any change, however slight, in the present social order would be dire calamity. The trouble is that they overestimate the radicalism of suffragists. The majority of women in the suffrage ranks believe in marriage, the family, husbands and children according to the present arrangement of soceity. Their "advanced" ideas are chiefly the application of the principle that in a democracy women should participate in government. To link the suffrage movement with all forward radical tendencies is to give suffragists credit for far greater emancipation than they deserve.

Nevertheless, suffragists do have opinions on social questions as they affect women. Some believe in divorce, some will not part with their own names after marriage, some regard economic independence as a corollary of the whole woman movement, some favor birth control, and a great many are concerned with the legal and professional status of women. But whatever their opinions, if they wish to serve the suffrage movement, they will not express them publicly or participate in so-called feminist activities.

For whatever a suffragist says about sex or social relationships is seized by the antis and spread broadcast, involving the whole movement with the view of one person. In New York recently, the national anti-suffrage association has waged a bitter camaign against an officer of the state Woman Suffrage Party because she among others endorsed a radical socialist magazine which during the campaign gave considerable space to suffrage propaganda. It happened that the magazine had published a ballad to which many people objected, among them certain newsdealers who refused to carry it on their stands. After declaring the poem sacrilegious and unfit for publication by the reputable magazines, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage had a thousand reprints made. Some of these were found on the desks of the legislators in Albany with a request that they refuse another state referendum because a suffragist had "endorsed" the magazine which originally published the objectionable poem.

The literature of the anti-suffragists reads like old wives' tales. A press bulletin marked "Extra" contained the following news, naming the suffragists concerned:

Five suffragists have spoken favorably of a magazine said to be a "purveyor of feminism."

A suffragist, suing for divorce, asks the Court for the right to resume her own name. Aside from this offense she is active in an anti-preparedness campaign and is "the offspring of a male and female clergyman."

A New York minister who advocates suffrage says that women and labor will bring peace, but a Socialist disagrees with him.

A professor in a woman's college who is a suffragist is known to be a Socialist.

A suffragist admits that she proposed to her husband.

A suffragist who is seeking a divorce has gone to California, which shows what kind of women are likely to register as women voters.

A suffragist has gone to Kansas to live in order to vote for the next President. This is rough on Kansas.

While no one can regard this type of campaigning as effective, it has the immediate result of putting suffragists on guard lest an endorsement of some radical measure or a chance remark on some aspect of feminism involve their organizations. If suffragists uphold divorce the antis, who never by any chance are unhappily mated, declare that suffrage will break up the home; if suffragists uphold economic independence it is a slight on marriage; mention of birth control means that that the family will be destroyed. Should a suffragist cut her hair short she is seeking to become like man, and man is man and woman is woman, you know; should she wear reform dress she is unwomanly. (It was the antis who had a Fashion Parade.) Anthony Comstock has gone, but his position as the great censor of morals and opinions has been accepted by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

To be silent, then, on the great political and social issues of the day is the price of membership in the suffrage ranks, a price which older suffragists pay grimly but without complaint, a price which makes younger suffragists rebel until experience teaches them. Whether the vote is worth the price that suffragists are paying for it, no one can tell, but those women who stay in the organized suffrage movement believe that to sacrifice their freedom now is worth the larger freedom to come.

X. Y. Z.

AT the Mississippi Valley Conference, early in May, Mrs. Catt urged the women of the country to join hands and defeat the enemies of woman suffrage.

Referring to the factors that have operated to hamper progress of the suffrage wave "which has been sweeping over the country," Mrs. Catt declared that contributions to political parties by interests opposed to suffrage had proved one of the most serious handicaps. She divided into three classes the "antis," or those whose efforts are aimed to keep women disenfranchised. The first two were the conservatives, so called because they would accept nothing new, and the pessimists. Of the third, "the spoilers," she said:

"We have one dangerous condition in our political system. Some States have tried to correct it; none has succeeded absolutely. Every State must correct it. Some one, somewhere, will find the solution. When some great power with money contributes vast sums to political campaign funds it virtually buys up the consideration of the leaders of those political parties which have received those contributions, and they, therefore, are able to largely control legislation. Those powers, which care nothing for the welfare of the people, which care nothing for democracy, which only stand for their own selfish interest—spoilers and wasters of our land—they are all opposed to woman suffrage.

"All over our country, in every campaign, we have made this observation, but it is always difficult to prove in the courts. Sometimes, however, the proof comes out.

"There is but one solution—honest politics, honest votes, no purchase of political parties, of Legislatures nor of Congress. And when we make sure of that we may then go upon our way with freedom."

His Reason

LOUISE CONNOLLY in *The Newark Star.*

I asked for the vote
In a soft and timid voice
He said, "You can't vote
If you don't make more noise."

I shrieked for the vote
In a wail that pierced the skies.
He said, "Yon can't vote
While you make such outcries."

I begged for the vote,
Bowing low on bended knees.
He said, "Yon can't vote
For your forte is to please."

I demanded the vote
With my fist raised to strike,
He said, "You can't vote
For you're not ladylike."

Such responses connote
Tho' the thought may be treason—
When it comes to the vote
Has my Lord any reason?

THEY say the women do not want to vote, and will not vote if given the opportunity," says Arthur Capper, the Governor of Kansas, to the men of Iowa.

"We have proven beyond the question of a doubt in Kansas that this is not true. The woman vote in Kansas is only about 15 per cent. less than the male vote. They not only vote, but they vote right; they vote intelligently and discriminatingly; and have been a distinct force in making Kansas the great State that it is."

With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl

"True, we believe in leaving the rough and disagreeable functions of government to men, like corralling the voters on election day and sitting in stuffy legislative halls and executive offices; but never in the world have we surrendered our high privilege, not only of directing the men how to vote but also telling them what laws to enact."—*Annie Riley Hale.*

Men's Natural Protectors

At the fourth annual meeting of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage a resolution was passed deprecating the lack of patriotism exhibited by the suffragists who took the time of the President and Congress by asking for the vote. The Association then stated that anti-suffragists engaged in political activity with deep regret; they would not do it at all if it were not for the suffragists and because of the conviction that it was the duty of their organization.

Mrs. Annie Riley Hale, less apologetic than her sisters, explained the political activity of the Antis in somewhat different fashion. She wrote to *The Evening Sun*:

"Leave the government to men, indeed! Well, hardly, especially in these parlous suffragette times. Well-informed and self-respecting antis know that it isn't safe to leave men to their own devices—without womanly guidance—in any important crisis; and we shouldn't think of abandoning those poor suffrage-bedeviled legislators in Washington, unsupported and uncheered by anti counsel, to the wiles of their tormentors. For while we believe it would take a thousand years to convince a level headed politician that there is any use in woman suffrage we also know that it wouldn't take more than twenty minutes to induce them to grant it after they were convinced that a majority of all women wanted it."

Colors and Slogans

"Yellow has probably associated with itself more bad symbols than any other color. Regarded as a sign of bad luck, jealousy, cowardice and disease for ages, since the recent defeat of woman suffrage it has been employed on every "slow" sign used on the Long Island Railroad. Has yellow acquired this significance, too, since its use in the suffrage campaign?"

" 'Success in Seventeen' is the new suffrage slogan. Alliterative slogans of more significance might be: 'Same Sorry Story'; 'Second Suffrage Set-back'; 'State Seems Safe'; 'Sad Suffs Stop.' "

How Can Suffrage Be Granted Regardless of the Law?

Mrs. W. F. Scott in the *New York Times.* "One of the powerful incitements to opposing the demands of the women seeking the suffrage is the fact that these demands are made and have been granted utterly regardless of the law."

"Women have an emotional power which obscures and confounds thought."

—*The Woman's Protest.*

Pearls from A. H. Macmurdo

Selected by Mrs. Josepha Whitney from a book in the New Haven Public Library. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Whitney's taxes went toward placing these sentiments in the hands of the public.

"Woman dislikes work which necessitates the surrendering of her individuality. Work in the political field makes the largest demand upon all who enter it, to surrender self."

"What more clearly indicates the waywardness of the average woman's mind than the manner of her economies, when unguided, or the nature of her extravagances, when unrestrained. The general conviction that women will be blown hither and thither they know not where by every passing breeze . . receives confirmation from the evidence of every home and every milliner's window."

"What men mean by statesmanship is something they have reason to believe is inconsistent with the best qualities of womanhood."

"The fact that some women protest against the inequalities of the marriage laws is no proof of the injustice of those laws. It only proves that they are not the same for women as for men. And this they can never be without injustice to one or the other sex, since those laws must be based upon the natural distinctions of sex with regard to offspring. Until women share equally with men the responsibility of family maintenance, and until motherhood entails no other economic disability upon a wife than paternity upon a husband, justice demands that allowance be made for the difference in economic liability existing between one parent and the other." "But they say, we should be able to return men pledged to frame such laws as we shall dictate, we shall be able to nominate and elect men who will be more partial to women's interests than to men's interests. But this could only be the case where ambition was the sole motive of the political candidate. Such a man will get into Parliament somehow, be a traitor to his manhood, thinking it no dishonor to be carried in upon the shoulders of women. A feeble reed this to lean upon! Will the suffragette be content with this petticoated man?"

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by

Adaline W. Sterling

In May time the suffragist fancy seriously turns to thoughts of work. The chief task of the "merry month" in the five Boroughs has been interviewing delegates to the coming convention of the dominant political parties. Borough chairmen and district leaders have co-operated with the State and have worked faithfully to convince the platform builders at Chicago and St. Louis that a suffrage plank should form a part of each structure.

Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Lillian S. Griffin, the Party committee has effected arrangements for transportation and hotel accommodation for the many who will form part of the "human documents" in the Chicago parade and the St. Louis "walkless" demonstration.

The arrangements made, details of which appear elsewhere, provide for both the comfort and convenience of the suffrage visitors. The City Chairman urgently appeals to the members of the Party to see to it that every city Congressional District is fully represented in the Chicago and St. Louis conventions. Let every suffragist who possibly can be on hand to help show that the demand for suffrage is a vital issue. The bigger the showing, the greater the object lesson to the conventions.

A BIG piece of constructive work is the formation this last month of a central City Organization Committee. This committee consists of the five Borough chairmen, and a number of prominent workers from each Borough. The purpose of the organization is co-operation and help in furthering work in every assembly district. A detailed scheme of the work proposed will be sent to each district leader at an early date.

THE crowning event of May was the "Western Message from Women Voters" given at the Carnegie Hall meeting on Sunday evening, the 28th. The message came in the persons of the following State presidents attending the Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs:

Miss Lucy Ellis, Arizona; Mrs. E. D. Knight, California; Mrs. W. R. Garretson, Colorado; Mrs. John P. Vollmer, Idaho; Mrs. Frederick A. Dow, Illinois; Mrs. J. M. Miller, Kansas; Miss Mary Stewart, Montana; Mrs. C. P. Squires, Nevada; Mrs. Charles H. Castner, Oregon; Mrs. E. F. Corfman, Utah; Mrs. Solon Shedd, Washington; Mrs. R. A. Morton, Wyoming.

Carnegie Hall has been the scene of many a suffrage gathering, but no former occasion matched this meeting in impressive features. First of all the decorations of the first tier of boxes, the coats of arms of the twelve really free States of the Union fittingly encircled by the Stars and Stripes, and from the tier above the yellow, and the blue, white and gold banners of the Woman Suffrage Party of State and City without any coat of arms. Then the gathering, remarkable as an assemblage from every part of our land. We knew academically that women vote in twelve States, but now the fact was visualized in this splendid representation of political equality. No wonder than that the great audience rose as one woman and one man—for our menfolks were there—when the procession of enfranchised womanhood appeared on the stage.

(*Continued on page* 24.)

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party

Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Headquarters—48 East 34th Street

Chairman—
Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street

Honorary Chairman—
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

Vice-Chairmen—
Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren,
68 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn
Mrs. F. Robertson Jones,
71 East 87th Street.

Secretary—
Mrs. Harriet Wells, 46 West 9th Street

Corresponding Secretary
Miss Adaline W. Sterling,
195 Claremont Avenue

Treasurer—
Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich,
317 West 74th Street

MANHATTAN BOROUGH—
Chairman—Miss Annie Doughty,
435 West 119th Street

BROOKLYN BOROUGH—
Headquarters—342 Livingston Street.
Chairman—Mrs. H. Edward Dreier,
35 Remsen Street

BRONX BOROUGH—
Headquarters—Third Ave., Corner 149th St.
Chairman—Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer,
631 East 168th Street

QUEENS BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. David R. Rodger,
Richmond Hill, L. I.

RICHMOND BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. William G. Willcox,
115 Davis Avenue, West New Brighton

DIRECTORS

Manhattan—Dr. Katharine B. Davis
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Queens—Mrs. Joseph Fitch
Richmond—Mrs. Andrew J. Newbury

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized to win the vote for women. It follows the regular plan of the political parties, having a leader in each Assembly District and a captain in each Election District. Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every man and woman who believes in equal suffrage.

If you believe in the principle of democracy, come into our ranks; every one is welcome. Send your name and address to 48 East 34th Street. Remember that every name counts. The success of woman suffrage depends upon the strength of our organization and the loyalty of our workers. We are organized to win. Join the Party to-day.

Mrs. Catt presided and called upon Mrs. Robert Burdette to open the meeting with prayer. Then everybody joined in singing "America," enfranchised and not yet enfranchised alike apostrophising the "sweet land of liberty."

The message given by our western sisters in brief speeches was varied, often marked with humor, always full of suggestion and cheer, and invariably prophetic of victory for New York. The words spoken by Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt added to the force of the message and the enthusiasm it roused.

It was a magnificent meeting, and an inspiring opening of our new campaign. Hearty thanks are due to the one whose thought suggested the meeting and to the Equal Suffrage League and the Woman Suffrage Party under whose joint auspices the affair was so successfully conducted.

Jottings from the Boroughs

Manhattan

ST. CATHERINE WELFARE ASSOCIATION, a Catholic organization of young women who, among other things, are working for votes for women, held the third annual dance, euchre and bridge party at the Hotel McAlpin on the evening of April 28th. Among the patronesses were Countess Spottiswood Mackin, Miss Elizabeth Jordan, Miss Janet Richards, Mrs. W. Bourke Cochran, Mrs. Joseph I. Berry, Mrs. Anna Sands O'Shea, Mrs. Mary C. Brown, and Mrs. Ella O'Gorman Stanton. Prizes were donated by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Charles S. Whitman, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Mrs. Joseph F. Daly, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, Rev. John H. Dooley, Rev. Father Mynan, Rev. William J. Johnston, and Hon. Timothy Healey.

The Suffrage Flower Market, held on Saturday, May 27th, took the place of the usual May Day Automobile Parade. Not that the automobile did not figure in this market day. On the contrary, just one hundred automobiles were employed in this travelling market, and they began operations by traversing Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to the Pulitzer Fountain at the Plaza, and then, on the return, cars were stationed at suitable corners and the business of selling the fragrant wares was entered into with gratifying results. The affair was the joint enterprise of the Woman Suffrage Party of the State of New York, and Manhattan Borough section of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, and Mrs. Augustus C. Hone managed the State end of the market, and Miss Annie Doughty, Borough Chairman of Manhattan, took care of the city end. The cars were beautifully decorated with the campaign colors, and were told off in squads of eight under direction of a captain. The assembly districts were represented by automobiles in charge of their leaders as follows: 2d, Mrs. Spivack; 4th, Mrs. Newman; 3d, Miss Borg; 7th, Mrs. Corbitt; 8th, Mrs. Petluck; 10th, Miss Voloshen; 12th, Mrs. Van Zile; 15th, Miss Hooper; 17th, Miss Hutchinson; 18th, Mrs. Gear; 19th, Mrs. Oliver; 21st, Miss Matthews; 23d, Mrs. Kilbourne; 29th, Dr. Mary Halton; 31st, Mrs. Weisberg; 25th, Miss Stebbins. Mrs. Whitehouse and Mrs. Laidlaw came with their cars and the Borough had two automobiles in line. Suffragists out of town were generous in lending automobiles and providing flowers, and Greenwich, Scarsdale, Yonkers, Rockland County, Huntington, Garden City, Great Neck and Port Washington cars figured in the market. Selling was brisk during business hours and the returns will doubtless be most gratifying.

Manhattan came out strong on *"Father's Day"* May 10th, and demonstrated to rich fathers and poor fathers and to all kinds of fathers alike the intimate connection of women's votes and better babies, and that the babies need the combined family vote of father and mother.

The Fifteenth Assembly District gave a professional women's tea at their headquarters, 2150 Broadway, on Tuesday afternoon, May 9th, to a number of members of the Professional Women's League residing in the district. Among these were Mrs. Harriet Otis Dellenbaugh, who read scenes from George Middleton's "Back of the Ballot," Mrs. Lillian Albertson Levy, Mrs. Gordon Ritchie, Miss Mildred Holland and Miss Clara Lipman.

The Nineteenth Assembly District has organized a Speakers' Round Table for the discussion and study of suffrage facts and data so that captains and canvassers may be fully equipped for their work. Meetings are held every Wednesday evening at the residence of Mrs. J. Wells Wentworth, 21 Claremont Avenue, under the direction of Mr. Walter J. Randolph and are open to all without charge.

Brooklyn

"THEN the women got down to 'brass tacks' in the practical fashion of women." This is from the *Brooklyn Eagle,* by way of introducing the story of raising $8,167 inside of ten minutes at the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Party's big mass meeting on April 26th. "The significance of the subscription," says the *Eagle,* "lies in its demonstration that suffrage in this community has passed the fad stage and has become a cause worth making sacrifices for. The bulk of the money came from women of the great majority who have been accustomed to consider expenditures carefully. When a cause touches the pocket nerve of its adherents it becomes formidable ,and woman suffrage in Brooklyn has now been put in that class."

The Eighteenth Assembly District held a final business meeting before the division caused by the reapportionment bill on Thursday evening, May 17th. After the business session short addresses were made by Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Borough Chairman, Mrs. De Witt C. Barker and Miss Adaline W. Sterling.

The Norwegian 17th of May Festival at the Academy of Music was a wonderful presentation, vocal and instrumental, of the music of the Norseland and it had officially no suffrage connection. But on the program were two speakers, William Jennings Bryan and Waldemar Ager, who somehow or other strayed suffragewards. Mr. Bryan said in this connection, "The country needs it, and what the country needs it will surely get. Suffrage is a question to be settled favorably and soon. As a matter of course every Norwegian in this country will support it." Mr. Ager's statement was, "This will never be 'a government of the people, by the people and for the people' until men consider women as people."

Richmond

THE Borough Chairman, Mrs. William G. Willcox, headed the Automobile Brigade of sixteen speakers which visited the thirty-four schools of Staten Island on "Father's Day." Though it was a day for fathers, the gatherings in the school house

grounds were largely composed of mothers, who had received personal written invitations from the pupils to be present. Six autos started on schedule time and covered all the schools in spite of wide distances. For the babies themselves badges were provided, a yellow suffrage ribbon with a tiny American flag for the girls, and a blue ribbon with a similar flag for boys. For the parents there was appropriate literature and sundry copies of *The Voter*. The speeches were short, on the care of the babies, and how the vote would help the mothers in that care.

On May 20th a performance was given at the parish house of the Unitarian Church, West New Brighton, of Alice Duer Miller's delightful playlet, "His Place Is the Armory." The caste was made up of prominent men and women suffragists, among whom were Mrs. Charles E. Simonton, Mrs. John P. Illsley and Mrs. Victor Garett as senators; Mr. Sydney G. Willcox as Captain Jinks and Miss Anna Willcox as the messenger. Mrs. William G. Willcox acted as coach and Mr. William Preble added a few local touches to the play. In the audience was Mrs. Miller, who seemed to enjoy the representation hugely.

Queens

AN effective Woman Suffrage Club was organized in South Jamaica, April 27th. Another club has been organized for Political Study at Glen Morris, while at Morris Park a big club of active suffragists, including many teachers, has been started.

Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale spoke at a Borough Mass Meeting in Flushing, May 5th. Women from all sections of this widely extended field attended the meeting. Arguments for impartial suffrage are so familiar that they are practically codified. Mrs. Hale presented them with such piquancy, force, humor and freshness of illustration, that they seemed quite new. The subject was treated with such fairness and courtesy that the most bitter opponent must have been disarmed. Not only were the lukewarm filled with enthusiasm but several opponents were won over to the cause and added their names to the membership roll.

The work of interviewing delegates to the conventions has been faithfully performed and no delegate escaped.

The Borough co-operated in the Better Baby Campaign. Three hundred babies were registered in Jamaica for physical examination, with seven physicians and four nurses in attendance. The Flushing Equal Franchise Association offered a prize, a silver cup and spoon, to the finest girl baby in the Flushing parade. The winner of the prize is a suffrage baby.

The annual meeting of the Flushing Equal Franchise Association was held May 12th. Mrs. Theodore Foulk was unanimously elected president. The society numbers 195 members. Beside local work it contributed nearly $500 to the campaign last fall.

Suffragists of Jamaica, Richmond Hill, Hollis, Queens, and Woodhaven marched in the parade of the Grand Army of the Republic on Memorial Day.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Benjamin King, who has lent her house, the 4th A. D., Queens, has Headquarters at Hollis.

Travelling Arrangements for the Conventions

A SPECIAL car attached to one of the regular trains will leave New York on Monday, June 5th, and will arrive in Chicago, Tuesday, June 6th. Headquarters in Chicago will be the Holland Hotel, 53rd Street and Lake Park Avenue. This hotel is delightfully situated, and express trains on the elevated road bring one to the heart of the city in fifteen minutes.

Charge for the whole trip will be $66.80. This will include car fare, berth in sleeper, meals on train, transportation of baggage, room and breakfast at hotel. The amount will *not* include luncheons and dinners in Chicago, and tips.

The return trip will be made on Friday, June 9th, arriving in New York, Saturday, June 10th. Anyone wishing to attend the St. Louis Convention may take advantage of the Chicago trip, and the added expense will be the cost of the ticket from Chicago to St. Louis, and from there to New York, less the return fare from Chicago to New York. Application for reservations should be made at once at 48 East 34th Street.

Suffrage by Correspondence

In the advertisement columns our readers will find a notice about the Correspondence School which is conducted by the Educational Section of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

This school was started about the middle of February with 193 names on the list. The lessons proved so popular, that in a very short time, between 12,000 and 13,000 lessons were being mailed each week, to pupils in all parts of New York State and in towns and cities in other States from North Dakota to Florida.

If you have not yet had the lessons, send for them and try them, and then tell your friends about them. Help to circulate them as widely as possible, for they are valuable propaganda.

Coming Events

June 1st-3d—Sale of tickets for "Suffrage Day on the Diamond" at new Albemarle Building, Broadway and 24th Street. A slice of home-made, fresh baked chocolate cake goes with each ticket.

June 3rd—Conference of leaders, captains and workers at Progressive Club House, Lefferts Avenue, near Jamaica Avenue, Richmond Hill, Queens.

June 5th—Meeting at the home of the Misses Gibson, Far Rockaway

June 7th—Republican Convention, Chicago, Ill.

June 14th—Democratic Convention, St. Louis, Mo.

June 17th—Garden Party at the residence of Mrs. William G. Willcox, West New Brighton, Staten Island. Tickets on sale at 48 East 34th Street after June 6th.

Addressing Norwegian citizens, who celebrated Norway's Independence Day in the Brooklyn Academy of Music on the 17th of May, William Jennings Bryan said:

"I believe it will be only a comparatively short time before the men of the country invite the women to share the privielges and responsibilities of suffrage. I am sure that on this proposition those who come from Norway will profit from the experiences of their country, and join with those in this country who want to give woman her rightful place by the side of man in making the Government what it ought to be. In this great reform, fundamental in character, I believe we can count for valuable assistance from you who come from Norway."

BOOKS FOR WOMEN

The Principle of Suffrage.

By Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr., published by Sully and Kleinteich. Price twenty-five cents.

The Principle of Suffrage is a simple and effective presentation of the basic principle of woman suffrage. The author, Nathaniel C. Fowler, has little patience with the usual suffrage arguments of expediency, experience in equal suffrage communities, results to state and nation. He believes that men and women are so much alike that the political changes involved in woman suffrage will not affect the country either for better or worse. His contention is that when a great, ethical principle is involved, questions of expediency should not enter. His argument is that woman is human. "If she is human," he says, "she is entitled to human rights, including the right of the ballot. If she is not human, let us segregate her, let us refuse to give her an education, and train her as we do an animal, not teach her to be a companion and a fellow helper.

"The right to vote is a human right, not a woman's right, not a man's right."

The Soul of Woman.

By Paul Jordan Smith. Published by Paul Elder and Co; San Francisco. Price $1.00 net.

Man's discovery of the symptoms of feminism and his delight in diagnosing and prescribing for them is so great that the modern woman often feels like a patient sentenced to perpetual attendance at a clinic. Nevertheless she is learning a great deal about herself in these days, and maybe, before many years, she will with her own pen disclose the great secret of how it feels to be a feminist. In the meantime, such writers as Paul Jordan Smith in his *Soul of Woman* give evidence of sympathetic understanding of the philosophy of the woman movement.

Mr. Smith is concerned chiefly with the great seers of women who have expressed themselves in literature. He shows how Ibsen, Strindberg, Browning, Maeterlinck and Walt Whitman understood the soul of woman. Of women writers he regards Ellen Key and Olive Schreiner as great exponents of the philosophy of feminism. His wisely selected quotations from these authors ought to inspire the reader to delve deeper into literature which interprets the spiritual awakening of woman.

"The woman problem comes at last," says Mr. Smith, "to where all great problems must come, to the sacredness of the person. In the highest sense, woman asks her freedom that, removing economic fetters and political imbecilities, and ethical perversions, her spiritual nature may expand; and this not alone for her sake, but for the salvation of the human race."

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The author treats suffrage from the viewpoint of principle and presents reasons uncompromisingly in favor of votes for women, which cannot be punctured or destroyed even by those who differ from him. The author does not resort to statistics, or to the usual arguments offered by those who believe in universal suffrage. He digs into the sub-stratum of self-evident justice, and wins his case by showing the utter weakness of attempting to prove the correctness of an "axiomatic fact."

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In the light of Mrs. Gilman's interpretation it is wonderful to see how many of "the riddles of life," of all the social problems, large and small, which vex our souls to-day, become no longer hopeless "enigmas," but merely "examples," such as are set the child in school, quite easily within our power to solve.

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